1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

WINDS

132

| Month | Wind Mean Velocity M.P.H. | Percentage of observations from directions in a year. N. | N.E. | E. | S.E. | S. | S.W. | W. | N.W. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| JANUARY | 5 | 13 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 4 | 24 | 34 |
| FEBRUARY | 5 | 19 | 5 | 4 | 10 | 7 | 3 | 16 | 32 |
| MARCH | 5 | 19 | 10 | 8 | 10 | 8 | 8 | 13 | 23 |
| APRIL | 5 | 17 | 8 | 9 | 7 | 9 | 9 | 16 | 25 |
| MAY | 5 | 20 | 10 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 20 | 34 |
| JUNE | 5 | 21 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 22 | 47 |
| JULY | 4 | 16 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 7 | 23 | 43 |
| AUGUST | 3 | 16 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 6 | 7 | 18 | 29 |
| SEPTEMBER | 3 | 22 | 3 | 10 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 17 | 28 |
| OCTOBER | 3 | 17 | 11 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 19 | 33 |
| NOVEMBER | 4 | 15 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 5 | 22 | 29 |
| DECEMBER | 5 | 13 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 3 | 25 | 37 |
| MEANS | 4.2 | 17 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 20 | 33 |

*This table is based on nine years observations.*

136 There is little wild life in Bahrain. Mongooses and jerboa (Kangaroo rats) are common in the cultivated area and in the desert respectively in the south of the island and on Umm an-Nasaan there are gazelle and hare. During certain seasons of the year migratory birds make their appearance, including the Hubara, the lesser bustard, which is hunted with falcons by the Ruling Family. Other game birds, duck, snipe and sand grouse are sometimes seen in Bahrain. There are, however, many small local birds including bulbuls, hoopoes and a covey of parrots which at various times escaped from their owners and have now become indigenous.

There are many sea birds in Bahrain. The commonest are tern and cormorant, which nest in thousands on small uninhabited islands filling the air for miles around with the noise of their comings and goings and their quarrels over nesting grounds. Herons and flamingoes are frequently seen as well as other smaller species of shore and sea birds.

This is Bahrain, and it is hoped that the information in the following chapters will add to the interest of the reader who is living in Bahrain, or passing through, by telling him something about the country.

## CHAPTER II

## THE PEOPLE

162 BAHRAIN is often described as a land of contrasts, and this is especially true of its inhabitants, for in this small group of islands, no larger than a pencil point on a map of the world, there are some 109,650 people (1950 census) drawn from over thirty nations of the world. In the same census it was found that 6,000 Bahrainis were working abroad

in neighbouring countries. Figures often make dry reading, but the following may be of some interest as they demonstrate the mixture of races present in the islands. 162

| Nationalities. | | Distribution. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bahrainis .. .. | 91,179 | Manama .. .. | 39,648 |
| Persians .. .. | 6,934 | Muharraq and Hedd. .. | 25,577 |
| Indians, Pakistanis and Goanese .. .. | 3,043 | Other towns and villages .. | 40,579 |
| Saudi Arabs .. .. | 2,526 | Awali and ships in port .. | 3,846 |
| Omanis and Muscatis .. | 2,466 | | |
| Europeans and Americans | 2,208 | | |
| Other foreigners .. .. | 1,264 | | |
| | 109,650 | | |

*Sexes* : Males, 58,601. Females, 51,049.

The excess of men over women is due to the number of foreigners working in Bahrain who do not have families with them.

At the current rate of increase it was *estimated* that the population of Bahrain in 1952 was about 115,000 persons, and of Manama, 45,000 persons. [161]

Many races have gone into the making of the Bahrain people ; there are the Baharna, the original inhabitants of the islands, who are said to be descended from Arabs taken by Nebuchadnezzar into Iraq, who later fled from that country and settled in Bahrain. They are Shiite Arabs and live mostly in the villages and in certain quarters of Manama. Formerly the Baharna were second class citizens and were content to farm and work for their masters, but today they take an active part in all walks of life in Bahrain. Then there are the Sunni Arabs, most of whom came to Bahrain in the 18th century and during subsequent years ; the Ruling Family of Bahrain, the al-Khalifah, are in this group. There are also a number of negroes, mainly of the Sunni sect, who are descended from freed slaves or who were slaves themselves and escaped from other parts of the Gulf to Bahrain where they were manumitted. Persians have also settled in the islands, having left the trials and tribulations of their own country to seek their fortune in Bahrain. 563

It might here be as well to digress slightly from this description of the people of Bahrain to explain the meaning of "Shiite" and "Sunni," terms which so often appear in descriptions of Bahrain and its history. These names refer to the two main sects of Islam between whom the people of Bahrain are about equally divided. 795

The dispute that was to split the Moslems into two rival camps started soon after the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632 A.D. and concerned the future leadership of the young Moslem community which was so rapidly expanding and sweeping over territories which are known today as Iraq, Palestine, Syria, Egypt and Persia. The Prophet was succeeded by two of his Companions, who had stood at his side from the early days of his ministry, Abu Bakr (A.D. 632-34) and Omar (A.D. 634-44), and on the death of the latter a third Compan-

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

laughter comes from the Club House Swimming Bath and in the evenings sports of all kinds take place inside the camp. Today Awali is a town of some 400 houses inhabited by 2,000 Europeans and Americans. Shady trees line the roads and in fact there is little to suggest the presence of oil. The roads are surfaced with it, but otherwise it is not visible, though oil is the *raison d'etre* of this town set in such an inhospitable situation, to which water has to be piped from miles away and where to plant a tree a pneumatic drill is required to pierce the rock on which the town is built.

### SAKHIR

Driving from Awali to Zellaq the traveller will notice a group of large buildings on the south of the road near the foot of the Jebal. This is Sakhir, founded by Shaikh Muhammad bin Khalifa (1843-67, d. 1890), but the majority of buildings which exist today were built by the late Ruler of Bahrain. The present Ruler makes little use of Sakhir, and the attractive mosques, balconied dwelling houses and high roofed rooms are now deserted ; the only human beings who remain are the Bedouin in charge of the horses and camels which are still kept there. The climate of Sakhir is excellent and in the spring there are fields of grass which provide grazing both for domestic animals, gazelle and hare. When Sakhir was occupied Saluqis were much in evidence, Shaikh Hamed was a great lover of this fine breed of dogs and his favourite hound, Housha, followed him wherever he went. It should be remembered that Sakhir is the private property of the Ruler, from whom permission must be obtained before it is visited.

### JEBAL AD-DUKHAN

The "Mountain" of Bahrain has already been mentioned in the Introduction, but it deserves further notice. From its peak, which is marked by a trigonometry marker, it is possible to see, on a clear day, the entire area of Bahrain from Manama and Muharraq on the north to Ras al-Barr, while on the east and west the sea is even nearer. From the peak an excellent bird's eye view of Awali can be seen, and, at night, the flares at Dhahran and at Dukhan in Qatar are visible. The strange formation of the island, with the rim-rock and the central depression can be seen from the Jebal. At the head of a wadi facing towards Awali is the Jebal cave, some 15 × 35 × 6 ft., which is hollowed out of the rock, probably by water erosion for the fantastic patterns on the walls would seem to point to nature's rather than man's handiwork.

### JAW AND DOUR (DAR AL-MANADIL)

On the east coast of Bahrain about a mile south of the highest peak of the Jebal are the villages of Dour and Jaw, similar in character and appearance and the southernmost inhabited villages on the east coast of Bahrain. The villages are about a mile apart and both are on the shore, they consist of a poor type of stone and gypsum hut inhabited

### ZELLAQ

361 South again of Malakiya is Zellaq, the southernmost village on the
342 western Coast of Bahrain and approximately three miles west of Sakhir. A road runs from Zellaq to Awali and is much used by BAPCO employees coming to swim at the former place. The houses of Zellaq village, which are of stone, are built along the shore and many of them are large and spacious. As a result of the activities of BAPCO, Zellaq village has increased in size and prosperity and now contains a number of substantial white stone buildings which are conspicuous from a long distance across the flat and sandy plain that surrounds it.

962 The inhabitants of Zellaq are Sunni Arabs: some are from the Dawasir tribe, and many of them are dependents of the Ruling Family.
311 North of the village there are a number of large gardens, irrigated by innumerable artesian wells, which are owned by members of the Ruling Family and by their servants; these gardens form a green belt along the two miles of coast between Zellaq and Sedad.

312 The Bahrain Petroleum Company has a pump house at Zellaq which supplies Awali with much of its water and Zellaq was also once the discharging point for tankers bringing crude oil from Saudi
517 Arabia, before the submarine pipe-line was laid. Near the pumping station is the BAPCO Plage, the excellent bathing place which is much used by the employees of BAPCO, particularly in the Summer evenings.

### RAS AL-BARR

521 This, the southernmost point of the Bahrain islands, is a popular
481 place for summer picnics, but the approaches to it are difficult, and although never dangerous they can easily cause trouble to visitors by
191 the softness of the sand. It is best to travel in parties with not less than two cars, so that one can come to the help of the other if necessary, and care should be taken to keep to the tracks, however faintly indicated rather than to carve out new roads in the desert. The road to Ras al-Barr from Zellaq first passes through Mutalla, the Ruler's hunting lodge, while that from Awali past the Jebel passes another hunting lodge at Rumaitha before joining the Western road at Akala. From here the road goes south, past the swamps on the coast and along the narrow strip of sand which marks the end of the island.

136 In certain seasons of the year the shores along this part of Bahrain
262 are covered with the eggs of sea-birds, and many Arab dhows anchor off the coast while the crews remove the eggs for food. If one is lucky, while driving down the coast, hare and gazelle may be seen, as well as rose-tinted flamingoes on the shore.

## MUHARRAQ ISLAND

### MUHARRAQ

491 The visitor from Manama approaches Muharraq by crossing the
486 1½ mile long causeway and Shaikh Hamed Bridge, completed in 1942,

361 and on the shore there is an old deserted fort which was built by the Omanis during a short period when they occupied the Islands. A [504] ferry service of small sailing boats plies between Muharraq and Arad fort, but to drive round the bay to the fort by car takes less time than crossing by boat.

396 Boat building is one of the few local industries of Muharraq and is carried out along the shores of the town, especially on the eastern coast. Carpenters and shipwrights are apt to extend their work half across the road and when driving a car one often has to avoid sails which are pegged out for joining or for repairs, rope winders, men mending nets or carpenters working on big wooden water tanks for the pearling dhows.

361 178 Many visitors to Bahrain never enter Muharraq and by failing to do so they miss the sight of a comparatively untouched Arab town, a sight that is rapidly becoming rarer in the oil rich Persian Gulf.

## HEDD

361 Bahrain's number three town is Hedd. Long and narrow, it is built on a strip of land which juts out into the sea at the south-east end of Muharraq Island. The houses are closely packed together and extend right to the edge of the sea, one road, only just wide enough for motor vehicles, runs through the centre of the town and on each side a labyrinth of narrow lanes leads down to the shore. There are few barastis in Hedd and most of the people live in stone houses ; some of them are large, built by pearl merchants in the days when the pearl industry of which Hedd was an important centre, was flourishing. The bazaar is in the main street and it contains many shops which sell all manner of goods. Water is supplied to the town by several artesian wells.

●[162] The population of Hedd is entirely Sunni and predominantly Arab, although a few of the shopkeepers are Persians. It includes Arabs of the Bin Ali, Saada, Mesedem and Musallam tribes who used to be very influential in Bahrain ; the last were once the rulers of Qatar. Hedd was originally a diving town but although it still has much contact with the sea, many of its inhabitants work on shore. Its people have a reputation for intelligence and energy and this is shown by the fact that they have produced better results from their schools than any other community. The town is conspicuously clean, owing partly to the fact that it is surrounded by the sea on three sides.

348 633 Hedd has a handsome new police station, at the entrance to the town, which was completed in 1952, a Municipality and Boys' and Girls' Schools which were opened in 1937 and 1939 respectively. For some years the Muharraq Municipality included Hedd in its activities but in 1945 Hedd formed its own elected Municipal Council with four members. There is also in Hedd a dispensary and a small women's hospital with accommodation for a certain number of in-patients.

226 Hedd is famous for its prawns which are caught in special traps and sent to the fish markets of Manama and Muharraq.

## HOWAR ISLANDS

101 This group of 16 islands is about twelve miles south-east of Ras al-Barr. It consists of one large island, Howar itself, which is about eleven miles long and a mile in breadth, and fifteen other islands much smaller in size. In the centre of the main island there is a rocky [361] eminence known as al-Jebal. There are only two villages, the larger one at the northern end on the shore of the bay consists of stone huts [625] with mat roofs (Kubbar); it also has a small mosque. The Bahrain State Police maintain a garrison on the island, in a fort which dominates [162] the bay and from the roof of which the Qatar peninsular is visible. The islands are inhabited by fishermen from Bahrain and also by men [312] who come to cut gypsum which they sell in Bahrain. The water supply of the island is very limited and consists of old cisterns cut out of living rock which are filled by rain. Attempts to drill for water have failed, but in the years when there is normal or plentiful rainfall the island provides good grazing for camels and sheep. Fishing in the 133 bay is excellent, the water is comparatively deep and a launch can 503 come alongside the short jetty. The southern tip of the island is so close to the Qatar coast that when the tide is out boats cannot pass between the island and the shore, but at one place between Howar and Qatar, a long narrow channel has been hewn out of the coral sea bed to allow boats to pass through a shallow stretch of water. This submarine canal was made by a certain Isa ibn Tarif, a notorious pirate, who played an important part in the history of Bahrain during the middle of the last century; he used the channel as a passage to his fortress on the Qatar coast from where he sallied forth to attack the shipping around Bahrain.

132 The climate of Howar is noticeably better than in Bahrain, it is drier and cooler during the summer nights, but has no other amenities to attract visitors fleeing from the dampness of Bahrain, and at present its only visitors go there for work and not for pleasure.

## ZUBARA

361 On the coast of the Qatar peninsular opposite the Bahraini village
172 of Jaw is the ruined town and the bay of Zubara, which has already been mentioned in detail in the history of Bahrain in Part II. The town of Zubara is on the east of the bay and stretches about 1½ miles along the coast and 2 miles inland. The ruins of the town are still impressive. The high wall which surrounds the wide straight streets and the fine mosques, the obvious care with which the town was laid out, speaks well for those who governed it. Further east of the town, at a distance of about two miles across the desert, is the great fort; some of the walls and the mosque are still standing. At the corners of the walls are towers with slits for rifles and the domed roof of the mosque presents an attractive picture. The whole building is made from local stone and little gypsum was used in its construction. Within the fort there are two wells one of which is dry, but the other still

contains a substantial amount of water which is protected from evaporation by the narrowness of the well's neck. The Bahraini members of the Naim tribe who live here do not occupy the fort but live in two villages in the neighbourhood, which have the advantage of being near wells. On the whole, however, Zubara is most unfertile, the soil is thick with salt which appears on the surface and it is easy to see that the only *raison d'etre* of the town was the sea and commerce. The fort itself was once connected with the sea by a long, deep canal, some 100 feet wide, which served the dual purpose of filling the moat about the fort and permitting ships to approach it. Today the eastern section of the canal has been filled in by sand, and the sea only reaches about 1½ miles inland.

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Gazelle abound in Zubara, and also jackals.

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659/162 The census was taken during the night of 22nd January, 1941. The figures which were obtained showed a total population of 89,970 persons; 27,835 lived in Manamah and 17,775 were in Muharraq. There were 48,267 males and 41,703 females but only 20,519 children; 74,040 persons were of Bahrain nationality; 41,944 were Sunnis and 46,354 were Shias, 15,930 were foreigners, including Europeans, Indians and Arabs from other Gulf states. The total number of houses in Bahrain was 14,482, of these 4,051 were in Manamah and 3,185 were in Muharraq. The number included both stone houses and palm branch huts. About 9,500 people claimed that they were literate, a proportion of somewhat over 10% of the total population. There was much surprise and some indignation because the census revealed a very much smaller population than most people had expected. It is probable however that a certain number of men did not register because they believed that they might be conscripted.

THE 1369 (1950) CENSUS

659 PRELIMINARY WORK. Preparations for the new Census were begun several weeks before the appointed date. The census staff consisted of about 150 clerks and officials from the various Government departments, the forms which were used were those which had been left over from the first census. The first work to be done was the numbering of all houses and occupied buildings in all the towns and villages and the division of the larger towns into sections. In addition to Manamah and Muharraq which together contain about half of the population there are about 80 villages situated mostly at the north end of Bahrain Island and along the eastern and western coasts. Many of the villages are in the centre of groups of date gardens and are not visible from a distance. With a few exceptions there are no nomad tent dwellers in Bahrain

563 Indians and Pakistanis (3,043) mostly living in
167 Manamah, were the next largest foreign community followed by Saudi-Arabians (2,526) who included many Hassawis employed as agricultural labourers; Omanis, Muscatis and Arabs from the Trucial Coast (2,466) were mostly people who entered Bahrain in recent years seeking work; British, Americans and other Europeans numbered 1,683, this total does not include ships crews at Sitra and at Jufair (584). In Manamah and Muharraq the British and American population was 270, including R.A.F. personnel. Other nationalities included Iraqis (224), Qataris (438), Kuwaitis (149), Yemenis (105). In the population of Bahrain at the time of the census over 30 nationalities were represented.

[208] Owing to local feeling Sunnis and Shias were not
795 registered separately but sectarial distribution outside Manamah and Muharraq is sharply defined. The Shia villages contain no Sunnis and the Sunni villages contain very few Shias. Muharraq contains a small number of Shia Baharna, who are scarcely distinguishable from the Arabs and a long established community of Persian Shias. In Manamah the Shias, both Baharna and Persians, are a large and important section of the population; certain quarters of the town are inhabited almost exclusively by Baharna and some of the suburbs are occupied almost entirely by Persians.

795 Bahrain is predominantly Moslem. There are less
●162 than 4,000 persons belonging to other religions, of these 2,348 are Christians, not including men on ships in the harbours, 293 are Jews and 975 are Hindus.

AGE AND SEX.

162 Reliable information about ages was difficult to obtain because few of the local inhabitants knew their own ages. There is as yet no registration of births

162 and deaths in Bahrain. In the distribution of sexes males predominated, the census figure showed 58,601 males and 51,049 females. If the number of Bahrain men who are working abroad were included in this figure the proportion [165] of men would be very high. A reason for the heavy preponderance of males is that most of the people who have come to Bahrain to work during recent years did not bring their wives and families with them, this fact is particularly noticeable in the case of Indians, Hassawis, Persians and Omanis. If Indians and Europeans are deducted from the total number of males and 30% of the males are reckoned as being under 15 or over 65 years of age the total local man power available in Bahrain would be about 38,000.

## OCCUPATION

162 464 Details of occupation were difficult to obtain; in most cases the replies to questions were vague, men described themselves as "labourers" which included cultivators oil field workers and labourers employed by contractors [208] and by the Government. A significant point was that nobody described himself as a diver though a few years ago half of the able bodied men in Bahrain would have given their occupation as divers. Now-a-days men dive during the season, in the summer, and have regular employment during the rest of the year. Generally it can be said that the cultivators who work in the gardens are always Shia Baharna and Hassawis, Arabs never work on the land in Bahrain, the village Baharna are also employed as fishermen, weavers, coral cutters and labourers in the oil fields. Few of them willingly take on work which keeps them away from their villages at night. The men of the Arab villages work in the oil fields and at sea. The townsfolk of Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd, who are of mixed nationalities, include merchants, shopkeepers, Government servants, mechanics and oil field workers and labourers.

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Fairly detailed information was obtained from a cross section of the village population numbering 31,606; this included 16,047 males and 15,554 females. In the total there were 3,960 infants aged, as far as could be ascertained, under 4 years of whom 1947 were males and 2,013 were females, 1,043 men and 115 women were literate. Occupations which were recorded were as follows:-

| | |
|---|---|
| Cultivators | 3,615 |
| Fishermen, boatmen, coral stone cutters | 1,178 |
| Shop Keepers and traders living in villages and having shops in the towns | 285 |
| Skilled labourers, carpenters, weavers, car drivers | 419 |
| Oil Company workmen | 1,508 |
| Government employees | 86 |
| Religious teachers and readers | 135 |
| Imams of mosques | 11 |
| School teachers | 9 |
| Labourers | 1,989 |
| | 9,232 |

The difference between the total number of males (encluding infants) and the number of males in classified employment is accounted for by the old men and boys who are either too old or too young to have regular employment.

## LITERACY

212 An effort was made to ascertain the number of literates.
162 In addition to people who were educated at Government and private schools those who had learned to read and write at Quran schools were counted as literate. The first Government school was opened in 1919 and during the last twenty years the number of schools for boys and girls has steadily increased. Persons registered as literate amounted to 14,057. If Europeans and Indians were deducted from this total there remain about 10,000 literates among the local population of 105,000, approximately 10% of the indigenous population being literate. This percentage, for Bahrain, is not low.

## HOUSES

362 All occupied houses were numbered and counted; in some cases a "house" consisted of one small hut, in other cases it was a building occupied by thirty or forty members and hangers-on of one family. Empty houses, of which there were none in Manamah and few in Muharraq, were not included. The number of houses in Manamah was 5,703 and in Muharraq 3,720; in the first census the numbers were 4,051 and 3,155 respectively. In nine years 1,600 new houses have been built in Manamah and 500 in Muharraq. In both towns the proportion of stone houses has increased considerably. The figures for houses in the villages are less accurate, it was often difficult to determine where one dwelling, consisting of a group of huts in a compound, ended and the next dwelling began. The census showed 6,232 houses in the villages and islands as against 5,575 in 1941. Taking the whole population and the number of houses, the average number of persons occupying one house was 6½.

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162 Another interesting fact which emerges from the census is the comparatively small number of non-Bahrain nationals, or persons who do not wish to be regarded as Bahrain subjects, who live in the country, (18,471 out of 109,650). It was expected that the proportion of foreigners would have been very much higher.

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## CENSUS STATISTICS

161

| Town | Census 1941 (1359-60) | Census 1950 (1369) | Increase | Percentage of Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Manamah | 27,835 | 39,648 | 11,813 | 43 % |
| Muharraq and Hedd | 21,439 | 25,577 | 4,138 | 19½% |
| Other towns and villages | 39,164 | 40,579 | 1,415 | 3½% |
| Ships at anchor and Awali | 1,532 | 3,846 | 2,314 | 150 % |
| Total population | 89,970 | 109,650 | 19,680 | 22 % |

## DISTRIBUTION BY SEX

162

| Sex | Census 1941 (1359-60) | Census 1950 (1369) | Increase | Percentage of Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Males | 48,267 | 58,601 | 10,334 | 21½% |
| Females | 41,703 | 51,049 | 9,346 | 22½% |
| Total population | 89,970 | 109,650 | 19,680 | 22 % |

## DISTRIBUTION BY NATIONALITIES

162

| Nationality | Census 1941 (1360) | Census 1950 (1369) |
|---|---|---|
| Bahrain subjects | 74,040 | 91,179 |
| Persians | 7,547 | 6,934 |
| Indians<br>Anglo Indians<br>Pakistanis<br>Goanese | 1,424 | 3,043 |
| Saudi Arabs | | 2,826 |
| Omanis & Muscatis | | 2,466 |
| Qataris | | 438 |
| Kuwaitis | | 149 |
| Yemenis | | 106 |
| Iraqis | | 224 |
| Palestinians | | 28 |
| Syrians & Lebanese | | 52 |
| Egyptians | | 30 |
| Others | | 268 |
| Europeans: | | |
| British | | 1,840 |
| Americans | | 290 |
| Others | | 78 |
| | 6,959 | 8,494 |
| | 89,970 | 109,650 |
| Bahrain subjects | 74,040 | 91,179 |
| Foreigners | 15,930 | 18,471 |

162

## INCREASE - BY NATIONALITIES

| Nationality | Increase in 9 years. |
|---|---|
| Bahrain Subjects | 17,139 |
| Foreigners | 2,541 |

162

## DISTRIBUTION BY RELIGION

| Religion | Census 1941 (1360) | Percentage of population | Census 1950 (1369) | Percentage of population |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mohomedans | 88,298 | 98% | 105,401 | 96% |
| Non-Mohomedans | 1,672 | 2% | 4,249 | 4% |

## DISTRIBUTION OF NON-MOHOMEDANS

| Religion | Census 1941 (1360) | Census 1950 (1369) |
|---|---|---|
| Christians | not recorded | 2,932 |
| Jews | | 293 |
| Hindus | | 975 |
| Others | | 49 |
| Total | 1,672 | 4,249 |

## DISTRIBUTION BY TOWNS AND VILLAGES

162

| Town or Village | Census 1941 (1360) | Percentage of population | Census 1950 (1369) | Percentage of population |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd. | 49,274 | 56% | 65,225 | 61½% |
| Other towns and Villages | 39,164 | 44% | 40,579 | 38½% |
| Total | 88,438 | | 105,804 | |

## CENSUS OF DWELLING HOUSES

| Towns or Villages | Census 1941 (1360) | Census 1950 (1369) |
|---|---|---|
| Manamah | 4,649 | 5,703 |
| Muharraq | 3,317 | 3,720 |
| Hedd | 719 | 619 |
| Other towns and villages | 5,697 | 6,232 |
| Total | 14,382 | 16,274 |

## LITERACY

212 Census 1941 (1360) Not recorded.

162 Census 1950 (1369) 14,057 (literates)

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701 625 suit them, they spoke no Arabic, and were regarded by the people of Bahrain as expensive foreign mercenaries; they were useless at ordinary police work, and the Indian Officers and N.C.O.'s caused constant trouble by incessant quarrels and intrigues. The Indians were enlisted for four years, but before this period had expired I began to enlist a force of local men as police, a project which I always strongly advocated. It was from this time that the present force was started, but the final transition was not completed until the end of 1932.

574 562 684 **Crime and Prostitution.** The number of serious crimes which are committed every year in Bahrain is small in comparison to the population, which is thought to be about 150,000. Usually about one or two cases of murder are dealt with by the police during the year, but it is possible that occasional murders take place which are not detected, especially murders of women and newly born children. Although in recent years Bahrain has progressed in many ways, there are still a number of Arabs living in Hedd and Muharraq who consider that they are justified in murdering their female relations if the women bring shame on the family. A few of the very old-fashioned Arabs even consider that because the Government does not ignore such murders it is encouraging immorality. The Kadis, however, although ultra conservative in their outlook, disapprove of men taking the law into their own hands and murdering women who misbehave. In some Arab countries the fear of punishment by death for immorality has a very salutary effect, but Bahrain, although described as an Arab state, has very little in common with real Arab countries. The Bahama, who form about three quarters of the population, are not true Arabs, and the rest of the population includes all the nationalities who live around the Gulf. The only real Arabs in Bahrain are the Khalifah and a few families who came over with them from the mainland and a small number of members of mainland tribes who live almost entirely in Hedd, Muharraq, Budeya, and two or three small villages on the south coast.

[162]

[548] [164] Immorality is undoubtedly increasing, but the increase in prostitution is not due to the Government but is a matter of supply and demand. During the last two years numbers of foreigners earning good pay have come to Bahrain, usually without their families, from Persia, Iraq, and India, and this has undoubtedly caused an increase in prostitution. Venereal disease is rampant, and the proportion of persons suffering from it, especially in ophthalmic forms, is very high. The medical supervision of prostitutes would undoubtedly result in an improvement in the public health. This suggestion was discussed and approved by the Manamah Municipal Council some years ago, but it has not yet been possible to arrange the medical organisation to cope with this matter.

674 681 Most of the criminal cases which are dealt with by the police are cases of theft, assault, and immorality. Several important gangs of thieves have been rounded up during the last ten years. Some of these gangs were well provided with arms and had regular methods of disposing of stolen property in Bahrain or on the mainland. Foreigners, especially Hassawis, form the majority of the criminals. There are a number of inveterate thieves who spend the greater part of their lives in prison. Such persons, on the mainland, would be punished by cutting off of their hands and finally by decapitation. The punishments inflicted by the Bahrain courts are whippings, fines, and imprisonment, but imprisonment to many of these people is no hardship: the work is not hard, they are given better food than they would obtain themselves, and the only real punishment is being deprived of women.

273 276 **Drugs and Liquor.** Liquor and drugs, such as opium, are forbidden in Bahrain, but in spite of the severe penalties which are enforced by the Bahrain courts against persons contravening the liquor regulations, the habit of drinking liquor and smoking opium is, in my opinion, steadily increasing. Ten years ago very few people drank liquor, and the smoking of opium was entirely confined to foreigners, Persians, Indians, and Baluchis. To-day many of the younger Arabs have acquired a liking for spirits, partly because they have had opportunities for drinking while travelling abroad, and frequent cases have occurred in which Arabs have been found to be taking opium.

276 439 Opium is smuggled into Bahrain from Persia, usually in native crafts, but sometimes hidden in merchandise on the mail steamers. It varies in quality, most frequently it is in large lumps weighing four or five pounds, but sometimes it is in paper-covered sticks sealed up in bundles. It is very

## POPULATION

161 The total population of the islands was estimated in 1930
162 at 120,911,[1] of whom 120,656, or 99.8%, were Moslems.[2] More than 100,000 are Baharinah, that is, members of the Shiite sect of Persia, who live mostly in the villages. The rest of the native population are either Sunnites of the Malekite sect or members of the Wahabite faith of Nejd, the principal faith of Saudi Arabia. Among the Sunnite community the most numerous are the Huwala tribe, who are residents of Manama, Muharraq, and Badaiya'a. They are engaged mostly in trade and pearl fishing. The Utūb, to which the local Sheik belongs, the Sādāt, and the Dáwasīr are the most influential politically.

Tables 3, 4, and 5 show the distribution of the inhabitants in 1930.

Table 3. MOSLEM POPULATION

| Tribes, etc. | Sunnites | Shiites | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Utūb | 55,000 | —— | 55,000 |
| Bahārinah | —— | 45,000 | 45,000 |
| Negroes | 11,000 | —— | 11,000 |
| Huwāla | —— | 2,500 | 2,500 |
| Persians | 100 | 2,000 | 2,100 |
| Arabs of Qatif and Hasā | 2,000 | —— | 2,000 |
| Dawāsīr | 2,000 | —— | 2,000 |
| Arabs of Iraq | 200 | 300 | 500 |
| Sādāt | 400 | —— | 400 |
| Hindus | 130 | 20 | 150 |
| Turks | 6 | —— | 6 |
| | 70,836 | 49,820 | 120,656 |

1. The eighteenth census, taken during the war for the purpose of distributing ration coupons, gave a population of approximately 90,000. Since then this number has been augmented and the present population is estimated to be about 105,000.
2. The Moslem population was estimated in 1897 at 68,000.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Table 4. NON-MOSLEM POPULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Hindus | 150 |
| Jews | 50 |
| Syrians | 60 |
| British | 10 |
| Assyro-Chaldeans | 5 |
| Total | 255 |

Table 5. SECTS AND TRIBES

| Tribe | Race | Sect |
|---|---|---|
| Utūb | Zuzara Arabs | Malekites |
| Bahārinah | Iranians | Shiites |
| Dawāsīr | Arabs of Nejd | Sahabites |
| Huwāla | Arabs of Persia | Sunnites |

The discovery of oil, the essence of foreign trade and international traffic, has brought a considerable increase in the number of non-Moslem residents. At the present time there are some four or five hundred Christians, mostly employees of the Standard Oil Company, five hundred Jews, and about the same number of Hindus.

## TOWNS AND VILLAGES

There are about two hundred centers of population in the islands. The most important are:

### *Bahrein Island*

MANAMA,[1] the largest city and the commercial center of the islands, is located in the northern part of Bahrein. It is traditional headquarters for the pearl fisheries and today is the center of the petroleum industry. At present there are about 45,000 inhabitants. The city has a government operated electric plant which also supplies the city of Muharraq on Muharraq Island, and commercial establishments include an ice plant, a large

1. Manāmah literally means a "scala" or "port."

Manama, is the capital of the State, and is the official residence of the Sheik. The Sheik holds court and administers justice once a week on the balcony of the municipal building and petty criminals are publicly flogged by red-turbaned policemen in the market place immediately below.

Manama is also the seat of the higher court composed of two members of the family of the Sheik and presided over by the British Adviser. The British Political Agent, who is under the authority of the Persian Gulf Political Agent at Bushir (in Persia), also has his residence in Manama.

BADAIYA'A is located at the northwestern end of the island, a mile from the coast. The majority of its eight thousand inhabitants belong to the Dawāsīr tribes, famous for their ability as divers. Following the political upheaval of 1923,[1] the Dawāsīr evacuated the town and fled to Damān on the mainland, but the majority later returned.

Near Badaiya'a are the two important centers of *Diraz* and *Jamra.*

ZALLĀQ. Situated on the west coast, this is another important center inhabited by the Dawāsīr fishermen and divers.

BALAD AL-KADIM. Really a cluster of several villages, this is, after Manama, the most active native center, with many palm groves and artesian wells. Its small but important population consists mostly of Baharinah farmers and fishermen. A short distance from the village is the small Sūq al Kaamīs where the Thursday market is held. Half a mile farther on is the famed water source of Abu Zidān with a religious school near by and a noted minaret in the Persian style, reminder of Iranian supremacy.

BURI, another village inhabited entirely by the Baharina[illegible] is located about seven miles south of Manama. It is a date producing center with ten to twelve thousand palm trees.

JIDD HAFS is located about three miles west of Manama on the highway joining that town to Badaiy'a. Populated by the Baharinah, it is one of the most prosperous agricultural centers,

1. See below, p. 99.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

361 with palm groves containing more than sixteen thousand trees,
162 as well as numerous vegetable gardens and orchards.

Near by is the small village of 'AIN-AD-DAR.

'ALI is located about a mile north of Buri to the west of
[491] the paved main highway running south from Manama to the Jabal Dukhān region. A motor road joins the village to Buri and Karzakkan and the west coast of the island. Situated as it is in the midst of palm groves and vegetable gardens, 'Ali is an important market place. Many of the Persian residents of the island own lovely homes there and the town has a mosque in the Persian style.

SANĀBIS and FALA, on the north shore of the island about three miles west of Manama, are active commercial and fishing centers inhabited by the Baharinah.

RIFA'. The two villages of East Rifa' (Ash-Sharki) and West Rifa' (Al-Gharbi), situated a mile apart, are near the center of the island. Since their location is considered to be one of the most healthful in Bahrein they are not surprisingly inhabited by the Utūb, the tribe to which the Sheik belongs. His immediate
[312] family lives in West Rifa', which is more exclusive though the important water sources are at East Rifa'.

ASKAR. This is another village of interest on the east coast, four and a half miles east of Jabal Dukhān. The inhabitants are the bu 'Ainin, probably the descendants of the people who ruled Bahrein nearly a thousand years ago.

About three miles away is the town of JAU, also on the east coast. Near by are historic ruins, probably the remains of the important ancient town, also called Jau, which is believed to have been the capital of the island in pre-Islamic times.

KIRABAD, or "Oil City," is the initial Awali camp built by the Bahrein Petroleum Company for the use of its employees and popularly known as "Bapco" from the initials of the company. Three miles away is the refinery. The town is on an eleva-
[491] tion eighteen miles south of Manama, to which it is connected by a modern highway also built by the company.

000 "Bapco" has some two hundred homes for married members

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

### *Muharraq Island*

101 This is the second largest island of the group and in all probability the "Aradus" of the classical writers. It is located northeast of Bahrein and is about five and a half square miles in area, horseshoe shaped and only a mile wide. It is separated [491] from Bahrein by a channel spanned by a causeway a mile and a half long with a motor road and by a swinging bridge which was completed in 1941.

361 The chief city is MUHURRAQ, on the western side, the sec- 162 ond largest city in the islands and the summer residence of the 633 Sheik. Its population is about 26,000. Muhurraq and Manama, on Bahrein Island, are each administered by a Municipal Committee which in addition to civic duties are jointly responsible for the upkeep of thirty per cent of the roads in the archipelago.

361 Other towns among the sixteen or more on Muhurraq which 162 should be mentioned are:

ARAD. This is an important date producing center with some sixteen thousand palm trees, on the southern shore of the Gulf of Arad. It is inhabited by the Baharinah.

HADD. Second in importance only to Muhurraq, Hadd is the leading pearl fishing center of the islands. It has a population of almost 10,000, consisting of Sādāt and Beni Yās. Since the English began to take a direct hand in the administration of the island it has become possibly the most modern of the cities, [242] with many up-to-date homes and an agricultural experiment [691] station as well as a modern penitentiary and the cottage of the British Financial Adviser.

The villages of Basatin, Qalali, Samahij and Dair, on the north and northeast coasts, are also important. Their population follows the Sunnite faith exclusively and those in Qalali belong to the Manani'a tribe.

508 Muhurraq Island has a military and civil airfield used by 712 the British Overseas Air Service. The field has limited fueling and repair facilities for normal traffic as well as minimum lighting, runway lights, and lighted wind indicators. There are hard surface, all weather runways with an elevation of two feet; the

longest runway, to the nearest hundred feet, is 7400 feet long. There are radio communication and direction finder with voice, and the Radio Bahrein tower operates on 6440 kilocycles, 117.9 mc.

The other principal islands of the Bahrein group are:

SITRA, which is separated from Bahrein by the Sitra Canal, which is about a quarter of a mile wide. The southern part of the island is completely barren but in the north there are small villages, mostly inhabited by Baharinah farmers and fishermen. The most important are Wadiyan, Kharijia, Muhazza and Sufala, all of which are important date growing centers.

NABBI SĀLIH, the smallest of the five islands, situated about three quarters of a mile off the coast of Bahrein. There are palm groves and two small fishing centers, Kaflan and Karya. The island has many gardens and orchards as well as palm groves with some fifteen thousand trees. It is entirely inhabited by the Baharinah.

UMM NA'SAN, two miles west of Bahrein, a low and sandy island four miles long and triangular in shape. The island is dominated by two rocky peaks, one rising to an elevation of sixty-six feet at about half a mile from the western point of the island, and the other twenty-five feet high situated about half a mile farther to the east. Near the west coast there is a water source used by the people of the west coast of Bahrein, mostly the towns of Badaiya'a and Zallāq, whose custom it is to send their cattle to graze there during the summer.

Besides these principal islands there are a number of smaller ones, mostly inhabited. From north to south and west to east these are:

KHASAIFA.

JARDI.

SAYA, with its fresh water spring, located about half a mile off the west coast of Muharraq Island.

ABU MAHIR, a small island south of Muharraq and connected to it at low tide. There is a small fort on the island erected for the defense of the water source which formerly supplied the people of Muharraq.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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162 formerly supplied the people of Muharraq. The inhabitants, who are divers and fishermen, belong to the Sunnite sect.

NAIM, SULUTA, and KHULAFFAT are three small islands in the Gulf of Arad.

Farther east are:

[312] ABU SHĀHIN, with its fresh water spring.

UMM SHAJAR.

UMM SHIYARA.

Mention should also be made of the three small, rocky islands north of Sitra bearing the name of Kasr (Castle) and farther south, opposite the village of Askar, the little island of Mashāikh with its fishing huts.

Off the east coast there are many others which are rocky islands or mere shoals and of no interest to us. Among them are the small islands of Raka and Cliff, El Ben farther north, and Yusuf closer to the coast.

## ANTIQUITIES

172 The north central part of Bahrein Island is covered with thousands of large tombs in the form of mounds of rock heaped with earth which are among the unsolved mysteries of Near Eastern archaeology. Their number has been variously estimated at from fifteen thousand to several hundred thousand—so many in fact as to be completely out of proportion to the size of the island and its possible ability to support in ancient times a population to match the size of this enormous cemetery.

The tombs are ancient burial vaults of large dressed stones erected at ground level, sometimes with a second story. After the interment the vault was covered with a mound of gravel, stone chips, and earth, obtained largely at the foot of the cliffs surrounding the central basin of the island. The mounds vary greatly in size, ranging from four to eighty feet high and up to one hundred feet in diameter. Some of the largest tombs show the remains of outer walls, while others seem to have been surrounded by rings of heaped up gravel to keep intruders

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



162

*Table I.* DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY NATIONALITIES IN BAHRAIN

| *Nationalities* | Census 1941 *Total* | Census 1950 *Sub-Total* | Census 1950 *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bahrain Subjects | 74,040 | | 91,179 |
| Persians | 7,547 | | 6,934 |
| Indians, Anglo-Indians, Pakistanis, Goanese | 1,424 | | 3,043 |
| Saudi Arabs | | 2,526 | |
| Omanis and Muscatis | | 2,466 | |
| Qataris | | 438 | |
| Kuwaitis | | 149 | |
| Yemenis | | 105 | |
| Iraqis | | 224 | |
| Palestinians | | 28 | |
| Syrians and Lebanese | | 52 | |
| Egyptians | | 30 | |
| Others | | 268 | |
| | | | 6,286 |
| Westerners: British, Americans, Others | 6,959 | 1,840<br>290<br>78 | |
| | | | 2,208 |
| Grand Total | 89,970 | | 109,650 |
| Bahrain Subjects | 74,040 | | 91,179 |
| Foreigners | 15,930 | | 18,471 |

Source: *Census 1950*, p. 13.

*Table II.* DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY TOWNS AND VILLAGES

| *Town* | *1941* | *1950* | *% of Increase* | *% of Population* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Manamah | 27,836 | 39,648 | 43.0 | 61.5 |
| Muharraq and Hedd | 21,439 | 25,577 | 19.0 | |
| Other towns and villages | 39,164 | 40,579 | 3.5 | 38.5 |
| Ships at anchor and Awali | 1,531 | 3,846 | | |
| Total | 89,970 | 109,650 | 22.0 | 100.0 |

Source: *Census 1950*, p. 12.

*Table III.* DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY RELIGION

| *Religion* | *1941* | *% of Population* | *1950* | *% of Population* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Muslims | 88,298 | | | |
| Shi'i | 46,354 | 98.0 | 105,401[a] | 96.0 |
| Sunni | 41,944 | | | |
| Christians | | | 2,932 | |
| Jews | | | 293 | |
| Hindus | 1,672 | 2.0 | 975 | 4.0 |
| Others | | | 49 | |

a. Sects among Muslims were not recorded because of local objections.
Source: *Census 1950*, p. 14.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



Over 61 percent of this population lives in the three towns of Manamah, Muharraq, and Hedd;[5] the rest, 38.5 percent, is scattered about in 90 villages and hamlets concentrated mostly in the northern and northeastern tip of the largest island. In the 9-year period between the two censuses the population had increased 22 percent, mainly in the three towns mentioned. The village population remained almost stationary (actually an absolute increase of 3.5 percent and a relative decrease of 5.5 percent). The concentration of increase in the towns can be explained by the better sanitary conditions existing there and the influx of foreigners. Evidently there was little local migration during this period from village to town, although in some cases it was found that villages had been deserted or greatly reduced in size.[6] It is interesting to note that the only population movement took place in some of the Arab Sunni villages.[7]

Tables I and III are in a certain sense misleading, for they give a false picture of homogeneity in the population (84 percent Bahrain subjects, 96 percent Muslims) that does not exist. Society in Bahrain is divided into several groupings, in most cases distinct and recognizable. Association with one group in many instances implies a certain occupational specialization, but the main forces that have determined social division are religion, tribal loyalties, and nationality.

## *THE SHI'IS AND THE SUNNIS*

The Muslim Arab population of Bahrain is divided into Shi'is and Sunnis, who in almost all cases never live in the same village. The Shi'is live in their own tightly-knit communities and do not intermix with the rest of the population to any considerable degree. Fighting — especially in the larger towns, when the two communities do come into contact — frequently breaks out between the two groups, necessitating the intervention of the police and even the British navy.[8] A recent index of the feeling between the two groups is the fact that for the last several years there has been no municipal council for the capital city, Manamah, for the simple reason that no agreement could be reached on the number of seats to be allotted each of the two Muslim groups.

Aside from the small minority of Persians, the Shi'is are all Baharnah. There is no agreement as to the ethnic origin of these people; however, they now speak Arabic and are regarded as Arabs. They are the oldest group among the present inhabitants of the shaykhdom and have been subjected through the centuries to successive conquests, so that altho gh at present they equal or exceed the Sunnis in number — as the 1941 census

[5] See Table II.
[6] *Census 1950*, p. 6.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[8] Abbas Faroughly, *The Bahrain Islands* (New York, 1951), p. 99.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2-Bahrain MZ2



An interesting development in recent years is the stress of the dominant
186 group, the Sunnis, on the unity and brotherhood of all Muslims and Arabs.
659 In 1950, when the second census was made, it was planned to count the two groups separately. This proposal, however, was construed as a British scheme to divide the Muslims and set them against each other. Strong objections were made by both groups, but primarily by the Sunnis, to the government and consequently this aspect of the census was abandoned. No such objections were raised during the census only nine years earlier.

186 Two factors can perhaps account for this rather nascent stress on unity: emerging nationalism and new economic forces. The conception of nationality is a Western contribution and a new arrival in the Persian Gulf. In Bahrain it is still a vague idea and certainly has not replaced to any degree the existing loyalties. It manifests itself in two ways: first, negatively in a desire to expel the foreigner (this has considerable appeal: it is concrete, intellectually easy to grasp, can be used as a rallying cry, and above all does not conflict with established social patterns); and second, positively, in a confused ideal of a pan-Arab, pan-Islamic union. No clear distinction is drawn between the two last concepts and the terms are used interchangeably. It must be admitted, however, that the pan-Arab aspect of the ideal predominates. This new spirit of nationalism has had the effect of creating a greater emphasis on unity among the native population. Furthermore, through this intellectual device the two groups can now present a common front against foreigners to protect their rights and interests, whether real or imaginary.

565 The new economic force for unity is the oil industry. On the surface
178 things seem as they have always been. In fact a change, subtle and hard
464 to detect, has taken place. The oil industry, as indicated previously, has
186 opened the doors of employment to the Shi'is. This has resulted in bettering slightly their economic condition and consequently their relative status vis-à-vis other groups. Furthermore, such employment has meant that they are no longer restricted to agriculture. They can now sell their labor and skills as everyone else in a wider and more favorable market. On the job at the company installations, Shi'i and Sunni are brought together as laborers or artisans and placed on the same footing. For the first time in their history it has become possible for individuals from both groups to collaborate in certain areas of action, not as Shi'is or Sunnis, but as members of an economic group.

### *THE JEWS*

162 A third native religious group is the small Jewish minority comprising
563 about 250 persons. Its members are well known for their industry, their
463 higher standard of living, their higher rate of education, and their amenability to Western influences. They are exclusively engaged in trade and money changing.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



641 563 The Jews have lived in the country in comparative peace and security for centuries. Their position was clear and definite. As non-Muslims they were outside the pale of the law and could not participate fully in the life of the community; but as "People of the Book" they were a *dhimma*, a protected community. In civil matters they enjoyed the same legal rights as all other Bahrain subjects. Here again social lines of demarcation were drawn on a religious basis.

563 578 798 With the appearance of the Palestine problem the position of this small minority became progressively more precarious. Today the Jews are socially ostracized and economically boycotted, and there have been instances where physical violence has been employed against them. The local press of Bahrain is replete with references to Bahraini Jews, the Jews in general, and to Israel. Such references include, among other things, threats to publish the names of those who associate with Jews in Bahrain or buy from them, references to the United Nations as a Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world, and editorial protests to the government against allowing allegedly Israeli airlines to land in Bahrain, or against radio-communications with Israel.[10]

648 439 The government of Bahrain has no official policy of enmity toward Israel as have the other Arab states. Commercial traffic is not prohibited with Israel or with the Jews as a whole, but in practice it is virtually so. This boycott is due in part to social pressure and in part to the fact that a large part of the goods imported into Bahrain is re-exported to Saudi Arabia, a country which has strict regulations against traffic with Jews.

167 563 Owing to their present position, the Jews are the only native community whose interests and aspirations are at complete variance with those of the native population. It is a matter of public knowledge that many of them have either left or are in the process of leaving the country to start a new life in Israel, the United States, or Europe.

### *THE PERSIANS AND THE INDIANS*

162 563 The two major foreign elements in the country are the Persians and the Indians.[11] Their social status and relations with the native population are determined primarily by psychological, political, and economic factors rather than by religion or tribal loyalties.

563 162 648 The Persians are the largest foreign group, but it should be noted that they are foreigners in the legal and political sense only, for they are as much a part of the scene as the legal citizens of the country. Iran has had a long and checkered association with the islands going back to pre-Islamic times. At one period, the islands were directly controlled by it, and as late

[10] See any number of *al-Qafilah*, a weekly newspaper, or *Sawt al-Bahrain*, a monthly magazine. Both are published in Bahrain in Arabic.

[11] As used in this paper, the term "Indians" includes Indians, Pakistanis, Anglo-Indians, and Goanese.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



did, or sell out and return to the mother country. Those who remained are engaged either in trade or employed by the oil company or some other business establishment. In the last few years the government has been refusing to grant citizenship to Persian residents even though they may legally qualify.[12]

The Indians, the second largest foreign community, are in a certain sense in a position similar to that of the Persians. Bahrain, like other principalities in the Persian Gulf, has had a long association with the subcontinent through trade. In 1913, when the Bahrain Order-in-Council was passed, the country became administratively subject to the jurisdiction of the Governor-General of India.

The Indians constitute a prosperous and fairly well educated community. Some are engaged in trade on a big scale or as petty merchants. The rest — and they are the majority — are employed either by the government, the oil company, the British military and civil establishment, or other foreign business concerns in the country. They work mostly as clerks, foremen, cooks, waiters, and domestic servants.

Various explanations have been made as to why Indians are employed in such large numbers in preference to local Bahrainis or persons from other nationalities. In the first place, Bahrain does not have enough young men with a minimum of education and clerical or industrial training to fill these positions. Secondly, in view of British policy to tie Bahrain to India, it was only natural to look to it for the necessary labor supply. Furthermore, India could supply labor well trained by the British and used to their ways. Finally, Indian labor could be obtained at a lower rate than equally skilled labor from other countries.

The status of Indians is a rather peculiar one, for they live in a social zone all by themselves. They are resented by the native population and accepted only as subordinates by Westerners with whom they would like to associate and with whom they would like to be classified. This is true especially of the clerical and professional group among them.

The causes of Bahraini resentment against them are psychological and economic in nature. In the first place, they constitute a community which is definitely foreign and makes a point of it, and in some respects looks down on the local population. This is especially the case among the white-collar workers.

Secondly, on the whole, the Indian community wields power far beyond its number. The people in Bahrain see Indians in government and business establishments and develop the feeling that they are being governed by them along with the British.

In the third place, clerical positions occupied by Indians and other for-

[12] *Census 1950*, p. 6.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



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are the moulders of the new generation of Bahrainis. It is significant that all these teachers come from countries which have just emerged from British or French control.

## *TRENDS FOR THE FUTURE*

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Social realignment among the Sunnis and the Shi'is must be thought of in terms of the distant future. It is true that secular and technical education, nationalism, and economic forces are all operating to bring these two groups together. As a result they have begun to cooperate with each other in certain areas of common interest as nonreligious groups; nevertheless, the old loyalties and social patterns are still strongly entrenched, as is very graphically illustrated by the religious riots of 1953 and 1954. It is even conceivable that when and if religion loses the depth of meaning it has at present to both groups, it may still remain as the basis of political alignment or power, as is the case in highly literate Lebanon.

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Nationalism has replaced religious tradition as the basis of the relations of the Jews with the major segments of society. The resultant tension is being resolved through emigration, but a few will no doubt remain. All indications are that the political struggle between the Arabs and Israel will leave them little chance of reintegrating themselves on some new basis into society in Bahrain. It is possible, although highly improbable thanks to the presence of the British, that mass violence may be used against them. If this does take place, the problem in all likelihood will assume an international character. Israel, which has established itself as the protector and defender of Jewish minorities, no doubt would use every measure to dramatize the plight of this minority to the world.

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The animosity of the native population toward Persians and Indians does not arise from fundamental issues of a permanent nature. There is, for instance, no parallel feeling toward Iran, India, or Pakistan; on the contrary, warm sympathy prevails for them as combatants against Western domination. Both the causes and the issues are transitory in character, and

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*Table IV.* FOREIGN TEACHERS IN BAHRAIN

| *Year* | *Egypt* | *Syria* | *Lebanon* | *Palestine* | *Other Arab Countries* | *Other Nationalities* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1944/45..... | 12 | 2 | 12 | — | — | 2 | 28 |
| 1945/46..... | 10 | — | 13 | .. | 1 | 2 | 26 |
| 1946/47..... | 13 | 9 | 12 | — | 1 | 2 | 37 |
| 1947/48..... | 11 | 7 | 14 | — | 1 | 2 | 35 |
| 1948/49..... | 22 | 6 | 14 | — | 1 | 3 | 46 |
| 1949/50..... | 20 | 7 | 14 | 9 | 1 | 3 | 54 |
| 1950/51..... | 9 | 9 | 15 | 10 | 1 | 3 | 47 |
| 1951/52..... | 9 | 7 | 27 | 18 | 2 | 4 | 67 |

Source: Government of Bahrain, Dept. of Education, *Report on the Condition of Education in Bahrain* (Bahrain, 1952), p. 47. (In Arabic.)

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2
Kuwait M11
Saudi Arabia MJ1



companies may need to be defined now that one concessionaire seems likely to create revenue; problems may also arise if, as a result of oil developments, it is planted with a population that will need to be endowed with public services and, no doubt, with a system of taxation.

## BAHRAIN

The Bahrain Archipelago is a group of islands in the Gulf of Bahrain, which is bounded on the east by the Qatar Peninsula and on the west by the mainland coast of al-Hasa. Its total area is 213 square miles. The principal island—Bahrain itself—is about thirty miles long and ten miles wide. It is low-lying and its northern end is well watered by fresh water springs and produces good date crops. Citrus fruit and lucerne are also grown. The oilfields lie round the rocky cluster of hills known as Jebel Dukhan (Hill of Smoke), which is in the barren centre of the island.

To the north-east of Bahrain Island, and joined to it by a causeway and motor road, is the low, sandy island of Muharraq, and between the two islands is a good deep-water harbour (Khor Kaliya). It is used as a small British naval base; an American admiral also flies his flag there. Nearby there is a second, but shallow harbour (Bahrain harbour), which faces north and is usefully equipped. The natural aerodrome on Muharraq Island has been developed into the largest commercial airfield in the Persian Gulf and now serves the airliners of all nations. It is also used by the RAF, and the whine of jet aircraft is a commonplace. The south end of the island of Bahrain is low-lying and sandy. The climate, though oppressive in summer owing to the prevalent heat and damp of the western shores of the Persian Gulf, is more humid and less windy than that of Kuwait. The population of the Archipelago was 109,650 when a census was taken in 1950.[1]

The capital and the seat of government is the port of Manama.[2] It is generally referred to as Bahrain, and is situated between the two harbours. It has a population of 39,648, which includes many rich Arab, Persian, and Indian merchants, as well as some 300 Europeans and Americans. The second town, Muharraq, on Muharraq Island, has a population of 24,566 which is purely Arab.

The British Political Agency is in Manama town, which also boasts an electricity station, a wireless station, post offices, hospitals, clubs, public gardens, and up-to-date schools. The town is supplied with good motor roads, and there are

[1] 1952 estimate, 115,000. [2] Population: 1950, 39,648; 1952 (estimate), 45,000.

132 siderable violence, particularly in June and July and in January and February.

## POPULATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### Population

161 464 At the time of the second census in 1950, the population of Bahrain numbered 109,650, with 91,179 Bahrain subjects and 18,471 foreigners. In addition, about 5,000 Bahrain nationals were believed to be working in other countries, chiefly in Saudi 162 Arabia. Among the foreign residents there were 6,934 Iranians, 3,043 Indians, Pakistanis and Goanese, 2,526 Saudi Arabians, 2,466 Omanis and Muscatis, and 2,208 British and other Europeans and Americans.

144 The Bahrainis represent a medley of Arab and Persian peoples, as well as various Negro admixtures, descendants of former slaves from Africa. The Baharna, the original inhabitants of the islands, are of mixed Arab-Persian origin, while the Arabs derive 795 chiefly from the mainland of Arabia. The population is almost exclusively Moslem: in 1950, only 4 per cent of the local residents belonged to other religious communities, with 2,348 Christians, 975 Hindus and 293 Jews. Both the Shia and the Sunni sects of Islam are prominent. The Baharna and the Iranians are Shiites, while most of the Arabs are Sunnites, including a small contingent which adheres to the Wahhabi 191 branch of central Arabia. Arabic is the national language. Other tongues are employed by the different racial groups, but most educated Bahrainis and town-dwelling laborers are familiar with English.

62 632 The returns of the 1950 census indicated that almost 62 per cent of the people lived in the 3 main towns of Manama, Muharraq and Hedd, and the remainder in some 80 rural villages and settlements. Manama, the seat of government and the largest town, located on the island of Bahrain, had a population of 39,648. Muharraq, the chief town on the adjacent island, numbered ap-

p. 256 (n)

proximately 26,000 residents, and Hedd, a pearl fishing center, around 10,000. The population exceeded that of the 1941 census by almost 20,000: the increase was confined mainly to the towns of Manama and Muharraq, and was attributed in large part to immigration.

Since the organization of the first government school in 1919, education has made considerable progress, but expansion is handicapped by a shortage of trained teaching personnel. In 1950, the Bahrain government supported 13 primary schools for boys —8 in the towns and 5 in the villages. Educational facilities were made available to girls in 1928, and at present 6 primary schools are in operation. Of the 5,770 pupils registered in government schools in 1950-51, slightly over 1,700 were girls. A few private schools are established in Manama, while Koranic schools are found in most towns and villages. The government also maintains a secondary school, a technical school and a school hostel for boys, and provides scholarships for qualified students for advanced study at the American University of Beirut and in Great Britain. In the recent census, the literacy rate in the indigenous population was estimated at 10 per cent.

### Vital Statistics

The registration of births and deaths is not compulsory in Bahrain, and no data for the calculation of vital statistics are obtainable. Local medical authorities agree that the mortality rates in infancy and early childhood are uniformly high. Observations made by the census enumerators in 1950 suggest that the infant mortality is particularly serious in the rural villages, in contrast with the towns, where living conditions have improved within recent years. The maternal mortality rates are correspondingly high.

The size of the population remained practically stationary in the rural districts in the 9-year interval between the first and the second census surveys. The rate of increase in areas outside the towns of Ma-

144 occurred intermittently in the past, chiefly in Manama and Muharraq. The islands are
[744] exposed to the introduction of the disease from neighboring territories, but the enforcement of quarantine regulations has prevented its establishment for several decades.

**Other Infections.** Although a mild degree of louse infestation occurs among the inhabitants in some congested areas, louse-borne typhus is rarely, if ever, reported. Imported cases of cutaneous leishmaniasis, or Oriental sore, and filariasis are occasionally treated in the local medical institutions, but the insect vectors are not known to be present, and indigenous infections have not been recorded. Guinea worm infection is sometimes seen among persons from Iran, but it is not found in the resident population.

### Nutritional Diseases

144 The standards of nutrition have improved
361 materially in the last few years. Under-
571 nutrition is common, but serious defects are seen primarily among the inhabitants of outlying villages and the families of workers from the mainland. Poverty, traditional dietary customs and intestinal parasitism are contributory factors. Subclinical deficiencies in vitamin C are widespread, and scurvy is observed from time to time. Rickets is frequent among the children in the towns. Anemia is prevalent, and hemoglobin levels of 25 to 30 per cent are not unusual among the women.

## SUMMARY

619 Bahrain is an independent sheikhdom
131 which consists of an archipelago of 5 main
282 islands situated in the Persian Gulf near the
315 coast of Arabia. It has long been famous as a pearl fishing center, and, since 1932, has enjoyed prosperity as an oil-producing area.
161 It has a heterogeneous population which
162 numbered 109,650 in 1930, including 18,471
795 foreigners. The people are predominantly of
144 mixed Arab and Persian origin, and about 96 per cent are Moslems.

p. 264(B)

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



comes the north wind, and in violence the south-wester (*Qaus*), which is fiercely hot in August and blows irregularly between December and April. See further, vol. ii, p. 346 f.

## Population

Though no census has been taken, the population of the 4 towns and 104 villages in the principality has been estimated as over 100,000, of whom 60,000, chiefly townsmen, are Sunni, and 40,000, chiefly villagers, Shiah. The latter are for the most part *Baḥārinah* (see p. 299), but this class, which is mainly agricultural, is here hardly above the servile state. The most numerous Sunni community is that of the *Hūwalah*, who are townsmen of Manāmah, Muharraq, Budeyya', Hadd, and Hālah Bin Anas, living by trade and without solidarity among themselves or influence on others. The 'Utūb, Sādah, and Dawāsir are the most influential tribesmen, the first on account of their connexion with the ruling family, the second by virtue of their supposed sacred origin, the Dawāsir because they are well disciplined by their chief and comparatively wealthy; there are also a few Beni Khālid (see below, p. 608). The remainder of the Sunni population live mostly on the coast, and depend for their subsistence rather on the sea than on cultivation. There are at least 5,000 free negroes and 6,000 negro slaves; a few Persians, Hindus, Basra Arabs and Jews complete the population. Life in Bahrein is more various and many-coloured than on the mainland of Arabia; the exclusiveness of a people cut off from intercourse with other races is absent, and the opportunity to indulge a taste for luxury has not been disdained. Direct relations with Persia and India have influenced costume, domestic appliances, and the architecture of the larger houses, in which the pointed arch is a conspicuous feature.

## Industries and Trade

The most important occupation in Bahrein is pearl-fishing, and the fisheries are the most valuable in the Gulf next to those of Trucial Oman. Were the fisheries to cease, most of the urban population would have to leave the country. They employ more than 900 boats, each with a crew of about 20, the total crews amounting to nearly 20,000 men. The pearling season opens in May, and some boats continue operations until about October. Special measures had to be taken in 1915 by the Sheikh, in conjunction with the British Resident, to enable the pearl-fishing population to tide over the crisis caused by the stoppage of the